/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and 166 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them 722 628 to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest 000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama
Makiritare 5520

731 In spite of their plantations and their skill in hunting and
262 fishing, the Makiritares occasionally experience periods of famine. At such times, when the children cry from hunger, they will dig up the foot-long earth-worms which abound in the humus under the undergrowth and eat them either raw or boiled. Frogs, too, then become part of the daily menu. I have seen Makiritares away from their village, when food was hard to come by, carrying no other provisions than dried frogs threaded like beads on a string.

123 We knew we should have to increase our flotilla of canoes, and to add more Makiritare boatmen to our strength as we proceeded up the Orinoco and the Rio Negro, but it was a necessity calling for discretion since we dare not risk the success of our enterprise by entering the territory of the Guaharibos with too many Makiritares in our company.
[122] Furthermore, we were counting on obtaining from the Cunucunuma villages the greater part of our *manioc* supplies; this formed not only the staple diet of our men, but also became an important part of our own diet. Frantz Laforest was most anxious to be *persona grata* with the Makiritares, so that he could observe and study the building of their fine Carib canoes at each phase of construction.

396 The method, he discovered, was to select a suitable tree, usually a variety of mahogany, and remove all branches for a considerable length of its trunk. Then followed the stripping of the bark and the rough shaping of the ends of the boat. Next the trunk was deeply hollowed out, first by means of a machete along its entire length, and then by fire which slowly enlarged the trough started by the hatchet. The longest operation, which took several days, was opening up the trough by means of wooden wedges, the growing hull being meanwhile
[531] held in position by means of cross-members. When all was complete the boat's sides were made waterproof by scorching, and decorations in the form of geometrical drawings were added. The vessel was eventually introduced to its natural element by hauling it from its place of building over wooden
[123] rollers to the water's edge.
[177] In spite of their skill in building the traditional type of

Table 2: Causes of death of 240 (adult) ancestors of the Namowei-tedi.

Stated Cause of Death[1]	Males	Females	Total	Percentage
Malaria & Epidemics	58	72	130	54.2
Dysentery, Diarrhea	16	5	21	8.8
Warfare	31	6	37	15.4
Clubfights	2	0	2	0.8
Snakebite	2	3	5	2.1
Sorcery (2)	15	10	25	10.4
Tigers	1	0	1	0.4
Chest infections	3	1	4	1.7
Hayaheri[3]	1	2	3	1.2
"Old age"	4	0	4	1.7
Pains in groin	3	0	3	1.2
Childbirth	0	3	3	1.2
Other	2	0	2	0.8
Totals:	138	102	240	99.9

1. These diagnoses were made by the Yanomamö. Some of the biological implications of these statistics have been brought to my attention by Dr. James V. Neel; I intend to discuss them in a later publication.

2. These deaths were probably due to such pathological causes as malaria. When malaria first reached epidemic proportions in some of the Yanomamö villages in the middle 1950's most of the deaths were attributed to the practice of harmful magic on the part of enemies.

3. This is a peculiar sickness associated with intense pains in the upper abdominal region; the pains may last several days. In most cases the Indians recover from this illness.

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 *628 726 583 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 +621 *628 The second important event was the secession of a section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 361 *628 796 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the initiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 *628 • 731 721 In order, the particulars of these three events are, briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However, (175) several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hekurama, and Hikarima) and the PatanowĒ-tedi (Ishinarima, Rubrobemi, Rǫkuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in PatanowĒ-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned PatanowĒ-tĒka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at PatanowĒ-tĒka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (BrararabǪwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

Matakuwë's group and returned to the Orinoco River area. An epidemic later decimated this small group and the survivors were absorbed by other villages.

Finally, Matakuwë and his group separated from Orakawë and his faction and, in about 1910, settled in the Mavaca basin. The group that remained at Shirakoböwei retained the name Aramamisi-tedi. They later moved back toward the Orinoco River and are presently in that area.

Matakuwë and his followers separated from Orakawë's group for two reasons. First, Matakuwë decided to support Karehewë in the dispute over the death of a member of the latter's group. Secondly, Matakuwë and his faction wanted to escape the raiding from the Shihowë-tedi, who continued to harrass them. By taking the side of Karehewë, Matakuwë and his faction entered into hostilities with Orakawë's group and, as soon as the two groups separated, they began raiding each other.

Area 3: Boraböwei

Matakuwë and his followers moved here about 1910. Raids mounted on them by their agnates, the Aramamisi-tedi, forced them to make a new garden at Konabuma, and for a number of years Matakuwë's group lived alternatively between these two sites. Another garden was established at Kaurewë after the raiding intensified; one raid on them by the Aramamisi-tedi resulted in the destruction of their garden at Boraböwei, and Matakuwë's group fled to Kayurewë, temporarily abandoning Konabuma.

11: Chagnon (E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2-8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: They relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

begun cultivating an alliance with a third Shamatari group, one that was related to the two that conducted the massacre in 1950. The new Shamatari group, Paruritawä-teri (see map, Fig. 2–8), was at war with the Iwahikoroba-teri, but on feasting terms with the Möwaraoba-teri. Kąobawä's group persuaded their new Shamatari allies to invite the Möwaraoba-teri to a feast and planned a massacre similar to that of 1950, but with the tables reversed: Kąobawä's group would lie in ambush, while the Paruritawä-teri attacked the guests within the village. The Möwaraoba-teri were being ravished by a malaria epidemic at this time, and only a handful of them actually came to the feast: The others were too sick to travel. With the aid of their newly found allies, Kąobawä's group managed to kill three of the five men and abducted four of their women. The other two visitors escaped to tell of the treachery. This revenge feast was only considered to be partially successful, and Kąobawä's group was not satisfied with the outcome. Their Shamatari allies, Paruritawä-teri, were obliged to abandon their site to avoid the revenge raids, splitting into two groups in the process: Mõmariböwei-teri and Reyaboböwei-teri, both continuing to remain friendly to Kąobawä's group.

In early 1965, just a few months after I began my fieldwork, Kąobawä and his supporters left to visit Reyaboböwei-teri, one of the two Shamatari allies, hoping to conduct another treacherous feast for the Möwaraoba-teri. They left a few men behind to protect the women and children. The men were gone almost two weeks. All during this time, those who remained behind flocked to my mud hut at dawn and remained in it the whole day, not permitting me to leave. Every hour or so they asked to see my shotgun. I soon discovered that they were frightened and suspected that the Widokaiya-teri were going to raid them to abduct women, for they knew of the plot. My hut lay on the path most likely to be taken by Widokaiya-teri raiders, and the few remaining men stood guard next to my door, hoping to intercept the raiders should they attack at night.

I, unknowingly, guarded the women and children by day with my shotgun, while the men did the same at night with their own weapons. This incident indelibly underscores the almost complete lack of trust between allies; the members of Kąobawä's group expected a raid from their friends and allies rather than from their enemies!

About ten days after the men had left, six visitors from another allied village passed through Upper Bisaasi-teri hoping to trade. It was obvious to them that the men were away and that the women were frightened. They carried word of the situation up the Orinoco River to their own allies, one of which was the Mahekodo-teri.

The evening before the men returned from their trip, one of the Salesian Missionaries, Padre Luiz Cocco, visited me, having traveled up the Orinoco River by dark—a dangerous undertaking at that time of the year. Padre Cocco had just received word by short-wave radio from the mission at Mahekodo-teri that a large party of men had left for Bisaasi-teri intent on capturing women. They had learned of the poorly guarded women from the six visitors and were determined to take advantage of the situation.

My house was full of women and children at dawn the following day, and the raiders were probably en route. I was in a difficult situation. On the one hand, if I told the Indians of the rumor, it would have been sufficient cause to start a war between Kąobawä's group and the Mahekodo-teri. This would have been most unfortunate if the story proved to be false. On the other hand, I dared not remain silent. If raiders were indeed coming, they would probably kill the defenders to capture the women. Fortunately, Kąobawä and the men returned early in the afternoon, and I was able to remain